The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

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First Speech in Congre[illegible] the First Socialist Congressman

Speech of Hon. Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin on the Wool Schedule, Delivered Wednesday, June 14, 1911

The election of the first Socialist Congressman marks an epoch in American history and the first Socialist address in Congress by the first Socialist Congressman is of unusual interest and will doubtless be of great historic value in future. Besides, it is a timely and able address and presents Victor L. Berger at his best. Therefore, we devote large space to the speech. If you desire other copies of this issue, they may be had at the rate of one cent each in small bundles, 500 for $4.50, or $8.00 for 1,000.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11019) to reduce the duties on wool and manufactures of wool—

Mr. Berger said:

Mr. Chairman: It is hardly necessary for me to explain how highly I appreciate the honor of being a Member of this House.

There is probably no other legislative body in the world in which there are so many earnest, bright, and interesting men. However, you interpret things as you see them, and you see them from the point of view of your class—the capitalist class.

The first question you naturally ask of any new Member is, What is your message?

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a message to deliver from the most advanced and intelligent portion of the toiling masses—from millions of men and women.

If you will bear with me in patience for an hour I shall try to deliver a part of that message to the best of my ability.

I am told that oratory counts for little or nothing in this House—that you want facts. I am very glad of that, because I hope to convince you within 5 minutes that I am not an orator, and within 10 minutes that I have some facts.

Now, gentlemen, I must ask you kindly to overlook my Milwaukee accent, but to overlook nothing else. (Laughter.)

Scant Protection for the Laborer

Some of the gentlemen here have repeated the old threadbare fallacy that the high tariff is to protect labor.

Now, I want it understood that there is no such thing as protection to labor in any tariff bill. I want to say this in the name of the many millions of enlightened workingmen in this country, and in all other civilized countries, who think for themselves.

Moreover, gentlemen, you are not in the habit of making laws for the protection of labor. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

You are continually making laws for the protection of life and property—for the protection of the lives of those who own the property, and for the protection of the property they own. You are continually making laws for manufacturers, bankers, and merchants.

But the workingman who has no other property than his labor gets scant protection, indeed.

If he wants to be protected, he must commit a crime; he must steal or get drunk and disturb the peace or become a tramp. Then the law gets hold of him and gives him protection. Then he gets the protection of the jail or the penitentiary.

As long as he is well and decent the law does not protect him. The high tariff does not protect him.

The Kernel of the Tariff Issue

What is the philosophy of the tariff?

The history of the protective tariff is the same in every country.

Agricultural countries subsidize manufacturers for the purpose of creating industries.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England became the foremost manufacturing country of the world. Germany, which before had supplied the world with manufactured goods, had been thrown back in civilization and culture by the horrors of the religious wars incident to the Reformation.

England bought the raw material of the world and sold the manufactured product. In order to build up industries in their own countries the European rulers tried to protect their manufacturers against the importation of English goods by putting up a high tariff.

The history of the American tariff is very much the same. The tariff reaches back to the days of Alexander Hamilton and is based upon the same idea.

It simply meant subsidizing the manufacturers so as to build up industries. It meant that the Nation was paying the manufacturer a bonus for investing his money in manufacturing.

The result in every country has been the same.

The high tariff at first stimulated competition. Everybody who had any money or any business talent went into the manufacturing business.

That tendency, of course, cut down the profits. It culminated in this country about 1892, when one of these periodical crises which are a part of our industrial system set in.

The result was natural enough. No matter whether we have a high tariff or free trade, competition has a tendency to weed out the economically weaker concerns.

That process of weeding out is mightily stimulated by these industrial crises, a matter to which I shall refer again later.

Competition Always Kills Competition

The process of weeding out went merrily on in this country. Toward the end of the last century a number of the remaining big firms found it more profitable to unite than to continue the fight.

There you have the origin of trusts.

It is not fair to ascribe the origin of trusts entirely, or even mainly, to the high tariff.

The high tariff is responsible for the trusts only as it stimulates competition, and inasmuch as it subsidizes the manufacturers.

But the outcome of competition is always the same. Competition always kills competition in the end. We find trusts in high-tariff America and in free-trade England. We find trusts in Germany and even in little Holland. As a matter of fact, every flourishing industry winds up in a trust.

I can go still further. I will say that in every manufacturing country the manufacturers at first demand protection and get it.

They want protection in order to conquer the home market—the market in their own country. They demand it as a matter of patriotism. Business men are always patriotic when there is profit in sight. (Laughter.)

But the business man, after he has gained control of the home market and reaches out for the profits in other countries, changes from the patriot to the cosmopolite.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. BERGER. No; I shall ask the gentleman to wait until I have developed my theme, and then I shall be very glad to answer all questions. I am here to answer questions for the next year and a half. (Laughter.)

"Big Business" Ready for Tariff Reduction

The business man suddenly finds that the high tariff—the same high tariff which has helped him to control the home market—is a chain on his legs when he wants to conquer the world market. Therefore he is willing to drop the tariff.

This is the case with the highly protected iron industry. The leading spirits in that industry are just about ready to drop the high tariff not only for iron, but for everything else.

Thus the New York Sun of Thursday, June 8, says:

> Possibly this country might continue to keep out of the poorhouse, grow wool, and make clothes, even if they have not the heaven-born tariff to consecrate every sheep and every manufacturer.

Considering that the New York Sun is supposed to be Pierpont Morgan's mouthpiece, and the organ of standpattism in industry, this is rather a frank admission.

Moreover, no lesser authority than Mr. Carnegie has declared that we are ready for a reduction of duties in the iron industry.

I am not, however, concerned with the manufacturers' side of this question. The manufacturers are well able to take care of themselves, and they are exceedingly well represented in this House. (Laughter.)

What I want to bring out is that it never was intended that the high tariff should protect the workingman. That pretense was simply an afterthought, because the workingmen have votes. (Laughter on the Democratic side.) Only American manufacturers have dared to tell this falsehood to their workingmen. Why? Because until very recent years American workingmen were more ignorant on economic and social questions than their brothers in Germany or France.

The highly protected manufacturers of Germany never dared tell their workingmen that the tariff was there to protect the workingmen. The protected manufacturers of France never dared tell their workingmen that the tariff protected them.

It was only in this country, after the infant industries had become giants, that some of our Pennsylvania politicians conceived the idea of claiming that the high tariff was here to protect the workingman.

But this issue shows plainly the paramount influence of our manufacturers and traders in political affairs, even though every workingman in America has a vote. The manufacturers palm off their private issues as national issues.

It is the manufacturers who want protection; it is the commercial men, and mainly the importers, who want free trade.

The manufacturers, as I said before, pretend that protection benefits the working classes.

But that this claim is a mere sham is evident from the fact that they have never proposed to discourage the immigration of foreign workingmen; that, on the contrary, they have always done all they could to encourage foreign laborers to come over; that they have even sent agents to Europe to coax laborers by false pretenses.

Causes of Higher Wages in America

There can be no doubt that wages are better here than in European countries. But the causes of this fact have little or nothing to do with the tariff.

The workman in highly protected Germany has somewhat the advantage, in wages and hours, over the workman in highly protected France. The workman in free-trade England has a shade the advantage over the workman in highly protected Germany.

It can not be shown that the tariff has any general effect upon wages.

Higher wages in the United States are due to a number of highly complex factors.

There is, first, the higher efficiency of the American workman, as the gentleman from New York (Mr. Redfield) pointed out in his interesting speech day before yesterday. There is, next, the more perfected machinery upon which he works. There is also the advanced development of trade-unionism. There is, furthermore, the fact that, until recently, large tracts of public land served [illegible] draw off [illegible] of the competing [illegible] the towns and cities to the country.

Finally, there is the fact that the economic system, as a whole, has never settled down in America into the hard and fast groove in which it runs in Europe.

Indeed, that system in America still retains something of the elasticity of colonial times.

Starvation Wages in the Highly Protected Industries

Since the great strike in Pittsburg in 1892—which ended with the battle on the Monongahela—the claim that the high tariff protects the workingman has become more rare. I should not advise the gentleman from Pennsylvania or any other gentleman to make such a claim before an audience of workingmen of Pittsburg, Chicago, or Milwaukee when there is a strike on for living wages in some branch of the iron industry.

While the products of our factories are highly protected, sometimes as highly as 200 per cent, the producers of these products are not protected at all. On the contrary, during the last 20 years Slavonians, Italians, Greeks, Russians and Armenians have been brought into this country by the million. Simply because they have a lower standard of living they have crowded out the Americans, Germans, Englishmen and Irishmen from the workshops, factories, and mines of our highly protected industries.

And in the steel mills of Pittsburg, Chicago, and Milwaukee, where 30 years ago the so-called princes of labor used to get from $10 to $15 a day, the modern white coolies get $1.75 for 12 hours a day, 7 days in the week—having no time to praise the Lord, and no reason either. (Laughter.)

As for the manufacturers of woolen goods, Bulletin 57 of the Census Bureau, which gives the figures on manufactures for 1905, shows (p. 93) that 44,452 youths and men, 24,552 girls and women, and 3,743 children under 16 employed in the manufacture of woolen goods receive a yearly average of $396 and a weekly average of $7.61.

The same bulletin shows that 29,883 youths and men, 32,130 girls and women, and 7,238 children under 16 employed in the manufacture of worsted goods receive a yearly average of $379 and a weekly average of $7.30.

According to social workers who have made a study of family budgets, the minimum requirement in the United States for a decent living for a family consisting of father, mother, and three small children is $750 a year. I believe that estimate is much too low, and that none of the gentlemen in this House would want to live on it. However, the average wages in these two highly protected industries are but little more than half this sum.

It is true that this average takes in the wages of children and youths. But, on the other hand, it also takes in the wages of the highly skilled mechanics and of foremen. It is therefore a fair average; and it shows a wage entirely inadequate to support a decent standard of living.

Against Tariffs Generally

As for me, I am against all tariffs—high tariffs or low tariffs—and against low tariffs as a proposition to raise revenue.

Every tariff, high or low, means that it hits the poor man worst. So long as a tax is placed on the necessities of life, it will fall upon the poor man much more heavily than upon the rich man. (Applause.)

To begin with, it is the poor people who, as a rule, have many children. The tax on shoes will strike a poor sewer digger who has six children six times as hard as it will the millionaire, who has one child. Moreover, the digger can afford it 1,000 times less. (Applause.)

Every tariff puts the burden upon the people who can afford it least. Every tariff means that the wealthy people are not willing to pay their share of taxes and that they want the poor people to pay it for them. It means that these taxes go to the manufacturer.

This is all any tariff means.

It is in all cases an inheritance of the Middle Ages—the Dark Ages—when the privileged classes did not pay any taxes and the common people had to pay them all.

The only just tax is an income tax (applause) which is graduated to such a degree that it will establish some fairness as to the intensity with which it is felt by the poor people as compared with the rich.

Free Trade in Itself No Remedy

I do not want to be understood to imply that the working class is benefited by free trade of itself. Free trade is no panacea. Free trade would mean that a great deal of our manufacturing would be done across the sea—particularly all of the manufacturing that has not yet reached the trust stage. (Applause on the Republican side.)

Moreover, the working class can not endure any sudden lowering of tariffs. It is helpless to protect itself from the consequences.

Especially in our country, after many years of the highest kind of a high tariff, any sudden change would be disastrous, and that is where the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Underwood) was wise. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

A Sudden Change Would Be Disastrous

There are whole communities built up on a tariff schedule on some manufactured commodity. A radical and sudden lowering of the tariff on any of those products would, of course, unsettle conditions, close workshops, and deprive thousands of wage earners of their jobs. [illegible] planless system of produ[illegible] whatever is made for the displa[illegible] would be widespread disaster and misery. (Applause on the Republican side.) When society is willing to undertake the transfer of displaced workers from a dying industry to a flourishing one we can then welcome any radical change in the tariff that seems best for the Nation as a whole.

Labor does not need the so-called protection of tariffs. It does need, however, protection against sudden changes for the worse in economic conditions. And in so far as it has had any protection it has protected itself by forming trade unions. It has protected itself by strikes and boycotts, which have been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be illegal.

But, illegal or not, I hope labor will continue to use them in order to resist the forcing down of the standard of the bulk of our population to a Chinese level. (Applause.) For in many respects we hav[illegible] been coming down continually. (Applause.)

Before this, the capitalist era, common workingmen in England could live a whole week on the earnings of four days.

Now, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, common laborers can scarcely live a week on the earnings of seven days of excessive toil.

Mr. STANLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BERGER. Mr. Chairman, this is the first time that the Socialists' view on the tariff has ever been heard in this House, and if the gentleman will kindly give me a chance to get through with my statement, I shall be very glad to answer any questions that he may wish to ask, and I have no doubt that he will be able to ask them with much more profundity than now. (Laughter and applause.)

Always Free Trade in Labor

There is always free trade in labor.

Under the present system, which we call in political economy the capitalist system, the workingman's labor has become a mere ware in the market. And since the man's labor can not be separated from the man, the workingman himself has become a commodity, whose time is bought and sold. The workingman, or rather his labor power, is subject to the same conditions as every other ware, especially to the conditions of supply and demand and to competition.

The workingman's labor, or rather his time, is bought now in the open market by the highest bidder on the one hand fr[illegible] the lowest seller on the other.

And the employers, that is, [illegible] master class, care only to buy the working[illegible] time when he is young, strong, and healt[illegible] When he is sick or when he gets old the employer has no use for him.

The employer is not in business for the sake of charity. He is in business in order to make profits—to make money.

And because of this we see that our so-called free workers are sometimes worse off—from the purely economic point of view—than the blacks were under slavery before the war.

The negro was property and represented about $1,000 in value—sometimes more, sometimes less. He was property which his master owned. Therefore the master, if he had any sense, took good care of his human chattel. The master was eager to have the slave as long and in as good condition as possible. When the slave became sick or when he died the master lost money.

The case is entirely different with the white workingman, the so-called free workingman. When the white man is sick or when he dies the employer usually loses nothing.

And high tariff, or tariff for revenue only, or free trade, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring, have nothing to do with the case." (Laughter.)

The fact is that the capitalist, the average employer to-day, is more concerned about a valuable horse, about a fine dog, about a good automobile, than he is about his employee, or about his employee's family.

In most cases the employment is absolutely impersonal. The employer does not know his employee by name, or even by number. This is invariably the case with a stock company where the shareholders are scattered all over a city, a State, or all over the country; sometimes over Europe.

Nor can any individual capitalist or employer, no matter how charitably inclined he may be, change anything in these conditions. A business or corporation that should try to run its plant on a charity basis would not last long.

The Worst Employer Sets the Pace

As a matter of fact, under the present system, it is usually the worst employer who sets the pace. The employer who can fleece and skin his workingmen best is best equipped for the fight in the open market. He can produce his goods the cheapest.

Thus competition has come to have a fearful meaning to the working class.

On the one hand, it compels the employers to get their labor as cheaply as possible; on the other hand, it compels the workingmen to compete with one another for jobs.

Competition among the workers has become, therefore, a cutthroat competition. It is a question as to who is to live and who is to starve. It is often a question as to whether a man is to stay with his family or become a tramp.

[illegible]nd the tariff has nothing to do with that q[illegible]tion, either.

There is always free trade in labor.

In many cases now the laborer is compelled to disrupt his family and send his wife and children to the shop or factory.

For this is the greatest curse of machinery—or, rather, the individual monopoly of machinery—that capital can be coined out of women and even out of infancy. Thus, not alone are men turned into wares, governed by demand and supply, but they are also made to scramble for a precarious living with their wives, sisters, and children.

In the cotton factories of the South, from where my Democratic free-trade friends come, the women and children compose two-thirds of the working force. Very similar are the conditions in our large cigar and tobacco factories and in the workshops of many other industries.

Laws against this sort of thing are almost useless as long as the present economic system prevails.

For while it is notorious that the wages thus earned by a whole family do not on an average exceed those of the head of the family in occupations where it has not become habitual to employ women and children, the abuse is still daily gaining ground.

And the reason is very simple. Women and children do not go into the factory for the fun of it; they are brought there by dire necessity, by competition. And it is competition, too, that compels the little children of the southern poor white people to go to the cotton factory and offer their young lives to be turned into dollars. Here are the figures of children from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, employed in 1900 in 11 Southern States, with the percentage of the total number of children of that age period.

Child Labor in the South

States.	Males.	Pct. of total	Females	Pct of total.
Virginia	44,651	33.7	11,094	8.5
West Virginia	22,343	33	2,481	1.9
North Carolina	77,986	55.1	32,421	28.5
South Carolina	56,363	53.8	38,917	30.3
Georgia	77,462	46.7	36,502	22.6
Kentucky	53,676	35.4	7,441	5.1
Tennessee	63,711	43.2	12,651	8.9
Alabama	80,989	59	41,664	31.3
Mississippi	63,906	53.8	34,103	29.7
Louisiana	39,620	39.4	21,427	21.6
Arkansas	49,747	50.1	15,321	15.8

Nor are conditions in most of the Northern States much better.

With a system like this it is only natural that the rich should become richer and the poor poorer.

Free competition imposes no restraint upon the powerful. They are at liberty to exploit the poor workman to their hearts' content.

And another thing: The strength on the capitalist side is so great, and the capacity for resistance on the side of the workmen is so insignificant, that there is actually no freedom of contract. The monopoly of the tools has made the employers a class of autocrats and the laborers a class of dependents—of hirelings. The laborer is simply a hired appendage to the machine.

The machine has come to be the main thing, the costly thing. The living appendage, the laborer, can be gotten without much trouble or cost. Nowadays, if an owner of tools [illegible] want to let a workingman work, the latter has no means of subsistence unless he finds some other "lord of production" who will permit him to produce something.

And so this system now creates the dependence of the thousands upon the few.

It is a paltry evasion of our capitalists to say that the workers are free to accept or to refuse the terms of their employers. The laborers have to consent. If they refuse the terms, there are plenty of others, hungry, starved, and desperate, ready to take their places. But suppose it were possible that the employer could not get other men to take the places of those who refused the terms offered—and, pray, do not for a moment think that this could actually be the case—the employer could stand it; he would merely stop business for the time being. And do not imagine for one instant that he would suffer privation by so doing. His home would be just as radiant with luxuries as ever, and he would probably try to endure life by a trip to some foreign country.

Cause of Frequent Recurrence of Panics

Now, another important consideration:

Since the working people do not receive the full value of their products—because a considerable profit is made by the employing class on everything the workers produce—can they be expected to buy back these products? Their numerical strength makes them the chief consumers of the country and those on whom production mainly depends.

In this way, by the laboring people not being able to consume enough, and by the planless way in which production is carried on in general, the so-called overproduction is created.

Of course, no matter how much or how little the toilers of a nation create, they always create more than they are able to buy with their wages, because they have never received the full value of that production.

In this way the so-called industrial crises originate. They have come upon us about once in every 20 years, roughly speaking, since capitalist production began its sway. At such times the trade and the manufacturing of a nation come to a standstill, because "there is too much on hand."

And the working people have to stop work and go ragged and hungry because there is too much on hand.

Statesmen, newspapers, lawyers, and so-called reformers on such occasions claim that it is either too much silver or too little silver, or lack of confidence, or what not, that is the cause of the industrial crisis, or panic, as it is sometimes called.

But hard times are really hard only on those whose subsistence depends on their having work to do.

For the poor people the times are always hard.

During "hard times" the wives and daughters of the capitalists, however, do not leave off attending balls, parties, and operas, in their silks and diamonds.

On the contrary, if the times are very hard, the wealthy and charitable people simply arrange one more amusement and call it a "charity ball."

As far as security of work is concerned, the workman of the present time is worse off than any of his predecessors in history. In fact, the irregularity of his employment, the frequency with which he is out of work, is the most alarming feature of the workingman's condition. The toiler of today can not work when he wants to, or when he ought to, in order to support himself and family. He can work only when it is to the profit of the employer that he should do so.

Evolution of Capitalism

How all this came about—well, it is simply a matter of industrial evolution.

In the Middle Ages, before capitalist production had come upon the stage of events, a system of small industries prevailed, and, in some few cases, has continued to the present day.

This system rested on the private ownership by the workman himself of the means of production. The instruments of labor were then paltry, dwarfish, and cheap; and for that very reason, as a rule, they belonged to the producers themselves. Since the fifteenth century, and especially since the power of steam was utilized, these limited implements of production have been gradually enlarged, united, and improved, until the common tool of the Middle Ages, and even some of the instruments that were common 50 years ago and later, have been transformed into the machines of to-day.

In place of the hand loom, the spinning wheel, and the smith's hammer there appeared the mechanical loom, the spinning machine, and the steam hammer. Instead of the single workshop there appeared the factory that combines the united labor of hundreds and of thousands. At the same time production was transformed from a series of isolated—individual—acts into a series of social and combined acts.

The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles which now come out of the factory are the joint product of the many people through whose hands they had to go successively before being ready.

No single person can say of them: "This I have made." Yet these social tools and social products are treated in the same way as they were at the time when the tool was an individual tool and when the product was created by the individual. So the present new mode of production remains subject to the old form of appropriation, although the new form of production does away with the very conditions on which the old form was based. In times of old the owner of the simple tool appropriated or took for his own use his own product, while now—and it is important to grasp this fact fully—the owner of the tool, of the machine, appropriates the work of others. He appropriates this work without a jury and without a verdict.

Private Ownership of the Machine Means the Exploitation of the Worker

And so we see plainly that the private ownership of the means of production, which was formerly the means of securing the product to the producer, has now become the means of exploitation, and, consequently, of servitude.

The development of the tool into the machine separates the workman from his product. In this way a comparatively small number of capitalists obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

We are often inclined to deprecate the resistance of the workingmen to the introduction of machinery.

But these victories of the human intellect over the forces of nature, which naturally should be a benefit to all—an unlimited source of blessing to the human race—have often become a means of torture to the toilers.

How many wage earners has the introduction of machinery thrown out of employment! How many lives have thereby been destroyed!

All the advantage of all the new inventions, machines, and improvements now goes mainly to the small class of capitalists, while, on the other hand, these new inventions, machines, improvements, and labor devices displace human labor and steadily increase the army of the unemployed, who, starved and frantic, are every ready to take the places of those who have work thereby still further depressing the labor market.

It is from this army that the capitalist class recruit their special police, their deputy sheriffs, their Pinkerton detectives, and some of their minor politicians.

Effects of Competition on Small Business Men

And the wageworkers are by no means the only sufferers. The small employers, the small merchants, are also feeling the sting of an unequal competition.

For every one of these men of business lives at war with all his brethren. The hand of the one is against the other, and no foe is more terrible to him than the one who is running a neck race with him every day.

Therefore, in the factory as well as in the store, the wages must be cut constantly, and the sales must be ever enlarged, the latest improvements the best labor saving machinery must be used and as little wages must be paid as possible. The race is for life or death, and "the devil gets the hindmost."

The fierce competition lessens the profit on each article, and this must be compensated for by a greater number of articles being produced and sold; that is, the cheaper the goods the more capital is required to carry on the business.

Precisely, then, for the same reason that the mechanic with his own shop and working on his own account has nearly disappeared in the struggle between handwork and machine work—for precisely the same reason the small manufacturers, with their little machinery, their small capital, and their little stock of goods, are now being driven from the field.

And the same is the case with the little store that must compete with the department store or the mail-order house.

It is that class that is yelling most loudly against the corporations, the railroads, and the trusts.

It is [illegible] "[illegible]." It is that class that would like to turn the wheel of economic evolution backward.

We can not destroy the trusts without destroying our civilization.

Moreover, we do not want to destroy them. The trusts bring some system into the industrial chaos. They are the forerunners of a new social order. They have put the first effective check upon the disastrous evils of competition.

While competition grows more intense among the workers looking for jobs, and while it still prevails among the small traders and small manufacturers, the trusts have abolished competition in the realm of "big business."

The trusts are undoubtedly a milestone in the industrial evolution of the race. The trusts spell progress and are a tremendous benefit. So far, however, they are mainly a benefit to their owners.

Let the Nation Own the Trusts

What we must do, therefore, is to extend the benefits of this ownership to the entire Nation.

The national ownership of the trusts must be our next great step in evolution. The Sherman law ought to be repealed and a law enacted to nationalize every industry where the output and the prices are controlled by a trust or a privately owned monopoly.

On the other hand, it is the trusts which by their very magnitude have made the viciousness of the capitalist system clear to everyone.

We see that the purely individualist theory of private ownership of "property"—which our competitive wage system has made the foundation of society—has resulted in practically abolishing the possibility of private ownership for the great majority of the people.

One-tenth of our population already owns more than four-fifths of the wealth. The centralization of the control of property is increasing with a rapidity that threatens the integrity of the Nation. The average of wages, the certainty of employment, the social privileges and independence of the wage-earning and agricultural population, when compared with the increase of the wealth and social production, are steadily and rapidly decreasing.

And the very worst of the social temptations is that wealth has become the greatest, one might say the only, social power. All human worth is estimated in terms of wealth—in dollars and cents.

Things can not go on like this indefinitely. White men will not always stand it. We are by our present circumstances and their consequences creating a race of "white people" in our midst, compared with which the vandals of the fourth century were a humane nation.

Sowing the Seeds of Revolution

Within a short time, with present tendencies unchecked, we shall have two nations in this country, both of native growth. One will be very large in number, semicivilized, half starved, and degenerated through misery; the other will be small in number, overfed, overcivilized, and degenerated through luxury.

What will be the outcome?

Some day there will be a volcanic eruption. A fearful retribution will be enacted on the capitalist class as a class, and the innocent will suffer with the guilty.

Such a revolution would throw humanity back into semibarbarism and cause even a temporary retrogression of civilization.

Various remedies have been proposed. Single tax, more silver dollars, greenbacks, and a dozen other remedies have been offered. But since none of them does away with the deadly effects of competition, and with the effect of the machine on the workman, I must dismiss them as insufficient. This is particularly the case with the single tax, which would simply for a time sharpen competition and thus increase the misery of the working class.

The other day we listened to a fervid plea for the single tax delivered on this floor by the gentleman from New York (Mr. George). He paid particular attention to the introduction of this system in Vancouver, British Columbia, and painted in glowing colors the blessings that had followed it. And now comes the distressing news that Vancouver is in the midst of a general strike, the first of its kind in that city, involving every organized workman there. Evidently the single tax is not a substitute for bread and butter. (Laughter.)

The Socialist View of Freedom

But this is what the Socialists say:

[illegible]

plements of production we can not and do not want to destroy. Civilization does not want to go back to the Middle Ages or be reduced to barbarism.

And as long as these implements of production—land, machinery, raw materials, railroads, and telegraphs—remain private property, only comparatively few can be the sole owners and masters thereof. As long as such is the case these few will naturally use this private ownership for their own private advantage.

The highest industrial order which competitive individualism has given us, and can give us, is that of capitalist and wage earner.

A capitalist and wage-earner order of society inevitably ends in the economic rule of a comparatively few absolute masters over a numerous socially subject class.

The wage system was a step in the evolution of freedom, but only a step. Without trade-unionism and labor associations the wage system would produce a social state lower than that of feudalism.

There can be no social freedom nor complete justice until there are no more hirelings in the world; until all become both the employers and the employed of society.

This social freedom, this complete justice, can be accomplished only by the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution.

I realize that all this can not be brought about by a single stroke—by a one-day's revolution. But I know that all legislation in order to be really progressive and wholesome must move in that direction.

Legislation that does not tend to an increased measure of control on the part of society as a whole is not in line with the trend of economic evolution and can not last.

Legislation that interferes with the natural evolution of industry means the taking of backward steps and can not succeed.

Legislation that divides nations into armed camps, that creates useless navies, that puts up Chinese walls between peoples eager to trade with one another, is reactionary and can not endure.

The measure now under discussion is of small immediate concern to the working class. In itself it means no material change in the conditions of the working man or working woman. But because it is in line with social and political evolution, because it tends to destroy the old tariff superstition, because it tends to break down the barriers between nations and to bring into closer relations the various peoples of the world I shall support the bill. (Applause.)

Colloquy With Mr. Kahn

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BERGER. Certainly. How much time have I, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. The gentleman has ten minutes remaining.

Mr. BERGER. Then I shall be glad to answer questions for ten minutes.

Mr. KAHN. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the workmen in this country are worse off than at any time in the history of the world?

Mr. BERGER. I did not say anything of the kind. I said that the certainty of employment is smaller under the capitalist system than under any previous system.

Mr. KAHN. I understood the gentleman to say—

Mr. BERGER. Oh, no. The gentleman probably was not here from the beginning of my remarks. The wages are better in this country than in any other country in the world. I said that at the very beginning of my remarks and explained why.

Mr. KAHN. Because I know in my own city of San Francisco the savings banks have deposits of $159,000,000, which are the savings of the working people of that community.

Mr. BERGER. Yes; and I know that you have had more strikes and more hell in San Francisco than in any other city I know of except Chicago. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. KAHN. Strikes?

Mr. BERGER. Yes; more labor troubles.

Mr. KAHN. San Francisco is today the best organized labor community in this country, and the workingmen there have had strikes only to the same extent as they have had them in any other section.

Mr. BERGER. And a few more.

Mr. KAHN. But they have been uniformly victorious, and at the present time we are getting along splendidly. We have not had any serious strikes for about three years.

Mr. BERGER. Mr. Chairman, let me predict something. I have been in the labor and socialist movement for twenty-seven years. The conditions in San Francisco, which the gentleman from California paints in such glowing colors, are the result of a quasi-alliance between "big business" and a certain trades-union element, an alliance for which I would never stand. Let us see where this is going to lead to. It so far has brought more corruption than was ever known in any other city of the United States.

Mr. KAHN. The alleged corruption was under a former labor-union administration—

Mr. BERGER. I am not speaking about the labor unions. I am speaking about "big business" using the labor unions as a political tool. (Applause.)

The Single-Tax Does Not Help Labor

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. BERGER. I do. (Applause.)

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, I did not quite understand the gentleman's allusion to me and to Vancouver and to the strike in Vancouver.

Mr. BERGER. If the gentleman will permit, I will read to you so that you can formulate your question just right. I said:

> The other day we listened to a fervid plea for the single tax, delivered on this floor by the gentleman from New York (Mr. George). He paid particular attention to the introduction of this system in Vancouver, British Columbia, and painted in glowing colors the blessings that had followed it. And now comes the distressing news that Vancouver is in the midst of a general strike, the first of its kind in that city, involving every organized workman there. Evidently the single tax is not a substitute for bread and butter.

Mr. GEORGE. The single tax is a taxation question. I would like to understand—does the gentleman connect me up with that strike?

Mr. BERGER. Oh, no. (Laughter.) Whatever I may say about his theories, the gentleman from New York is innocent. The gentleman has nothing to do with that strike. I did not mean to say anything about it, but I wanted to show that the single tax does not improve labor conditions. It does not. Strikes are just as frequent in single-tax cities as in cities where they do not have the single tax. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Mr. GEORGE. I thank the gentleman. I feel very greatly enlightened.

National Ownership of Trusts the Only Solution

Mr. STANLEY. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BERGER. Yes.

Mr. STANLEY. If I understood the gentleman, he said he was not opposed to the organization of trusts. Is that correct?

Mr. BERGER. I am not opposed to the organization of trusts any more than I am opposed to the Atlantic Ocean or the Mississippi River, or, let us say, to anything that is a natural outcome of conditions. I explained that the trusts are the natural result of industrial evolution, and anything that is the natural outcome of an industrial development I am not opposed to.

Mr. STANLEY. That is, that it follows inevitably?

Mr. BERGER. That it follows inevitably.

Mr. STANLEY. Now, I want to ask the gentleman this: Does the gentleman favor the fixing of the price of commodities, of these immense organizations engaged in interstate trade, by the government?

Mr. BERGER. Mr. Chairman, I favor it as a first step. It is only primary. I understand Mr. Gary of the Steel Trust is in favor of that.

Mr. STANLEY. I understand so.

Mr. BERGER. And for the first time in my life Mr. Gary and I agree on anything. But I will also say it will not help much. It proves, though, that even the trust concedes that it has grown to such dimensions that it has become a quasi-public utility and that it is no longer a private business. The only solution, however, is the national ownership of the trusts.

Mr. STANLEY. As I understand the gentleman, he speaks of the trusts as a milestone in industrial evolution.

Mr. BERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STANLEY. In other words, the centralization of the immense wealth and energy of the steel business, for instance, in the hands at last of one man, and the centralization of the manufacture of wool in the hands of one man, and the manufacture of other textiles, like cotton, in the hands of one man, and the refining of sugar in the hands of one man—

Mr. BERGER. One concern.

Mr. STANLEY. I should say one person, whether corporate or individual—that this will in a short time place the body of the wealth of this country and the employment of all the labor in this country in the hands of a few persons, whether corporate or individual, and then the government, as you say, should fix the price of the commodities of these great concerns, and it will be but a step from that until, instead of allowing them with the price fixed by the government to operate for the benefit of a few individuals, they will be forced to operate for the benefit of all men?

Mr. BERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STANLEY. And that will be the easy step from the government control as advocated by Judge Gary to Socialism as advocated by yourself?

Mr. BERGER. That will be a very natural step.

Mr. STANLEY. And an inevitable one.

Mr. BERGER. Nobody can regulate another man's business. I would hate to regulate your property. The regulation of other people's property is always a dubious thing to undertake. The trust, however, is willing to part with some of its rights of ownership. If I have a right to say how much you shall get for your horse, I have a share in that horse. As long as I can decide for how much you may sell your house, I have a share in that house. And as long as I can fix a price for a coat, I practically share in the ownership of that coat. Now that the trust offers an opportunity of ownership to the government, the government ought to accept. Complete ownership, however, is the final solution.

Competition in "Big Business" Played Out

Mr. STANLEY. As I understand you, there is little difference between the position you take and the position taken, for instance, by the United States Steel Corporation, in this, that competition is a bad thing?

Mr. BERGER. It was not a bad thing in its day. In "big business" it is played out; it does not exist. It was a good thing as long as economic conditions required it.

Mr. STANLEY. You spoke in your address of the evils of competition and the bad effects of it——

Mr. BERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STANLEY. And suppose that these great industrial institutions, like the United States Steel Corporation, for instance, believe in abolishing competition and fixing the price by agreement or by law, the only difference between the trusts and the Socialists is that the trusts believe in having the Government run their business for the benefit of the persons who own them and you believe in having them run these great organizations for the benefit of all the people?

Mr. BERGER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. FOWLER. I ask that his time be extended.

Mr. CANNON. I would like to ask what are the views of the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Stanley) as to government ownership?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Berger) has expired.

Mr. STANLEY. I ask permission to reply to the gentleman from Illinois, if I can hear him.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Berger).

Mr. CANNON. I wish to ask whether the gentleman from Kentucky is for government ownership?

Mr. STANLEY. The gentleman from Kentucky is essentially an individualist. He differs as widely from Judge Gary as from the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Berger). I am not a Republican; I am not a Socialist; I am a Democrat. (Applause on the Democratic side.) And I believe in competition and the independence of the individual.

Mr. FOWLER. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Berger) yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Fowler)?

Mr. BERGER. Yes; I yield to the gentleman.

"Were There Any Mules Killed?"

Mr. FOWLER. I understood the gentleman to say, in the course of this argument, that the conditions had grown to such an extent that the capitalist of to-day thought more of his wealth than he did of the laborer or the family of the laborer?

Mr. BERGER. Yes; I said the average capitalist.

Mr. FOWLER. I was at a coal mine in my district last summer wherein there had been an explosion, and a man was sent down to investigate the result. When he came back the superintendent asked him, as the first question, "Were there any mules killed?" Is that what you mean by sizing up this situation.

Mr. BERGER. I did not know of that incident; but I could recite a good many incidents of a similar nature.

We Must Accommodate Our Political Life to Industrial Conditions

Mr. JACKSON. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Kansas?

Mr. BERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman was discussing the trust question. I would like to ask the gentleman if it is not true that what he means, under our present industrial system, is that where a man has used his property to produce a monopoly, under the common law and under our Constitution that man's property is devoted to the public use and that the government has a right, this Congress has a right, to regulate those prices? And I will ask the gentleman further if our Supreme Court, in the cases of Munn against Illinois and the People against Budd, has not announced and confirmed that doctrine?

(Continued on page 6.)

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EDITOR
Rev. Edward Ellis Carr
Home Phone Midway 2945

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LITERATURE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

(From the Living Church.)

To the Editor of The Living Church:

May I may use of your correspondence columns not only to commend your two very wise and sympathetic notices in last week's issue of Conrad Noel's book on "Socialism in Church History," but also to point out to my younger brothers in the ministry a rare opportunity, which, personally, I cannot help regarding as almost a duty?

There is one man (at least one) and one paper, already at work trying to do exactly what you say ought to be done—save this great historic movement from being surrendered to atheism and irreligion; a movement which unconsciously has the spirit of Christ behind it, as any one who has read at all on the subject knows full well. It is a shame that so many of us are ignorant of and fail to help this man and this paper. "Social Service Commissions" are mere useless theorizing bodies till they do something of the kind; if not actually support, at least become acquainted, for their own enlightenment, with a force that is actually doing so much aid in so true a spirit.

I refer to **The Christian Socialist**, a paper published by the Rev. Edward Ellis Carr at 56 East Randolph street, Chicago, Ill., the organ of the Christian Socialist Fellowship. Not only are they reaching hundreds of the more earnest clergy of all churches, but are running a series of Sunday school lessons and a department for young folks' correspondence which is conducted with a grace, dignity, and womanly insight that are incomparable.

To subscribe for this paper is not only a revelation, but an inspiration. Without doing so I do not see how any priest can be really intelligent as to what is being done in our country today.

It is the question of the hour and the age. I believe that is a splendid call from our Master Christ. Neither the church nor our seminaries have faced or grappled with it honestly or effectively as yet. We ought to sanctify this great movement at its source and not permit all its precedents and beginnings to be governed, colored, and shaped by those who know not Christ.

Rauschenbusch's great book on "Christianity and the Social Crisis" is having an unprecedented sale; so ought Conrad Noel's book. But all knowledge is useless until we get to work, share it and spread it. This paper in Chicago shows us how to do that. To read it and get others to read it is to work, for it acquaints us with a force actually growing before our eyes, it keeps our mind on the move. The duty now is to arouse and promote clear thinking.

I ask you, Mr. Editor, to print this letter in order that no priest of the church shall fail to know of a periodical almost equally valuable with your own.

(Rev.) George Israel Browne.

Lancaster, Pa., July 14, 1911.

* * *

I wish I could have read your paper 20 years ago. I am sure it teaches a far more practical religion than the churches and S. S. have been teaching and I and wife would hate to part with it now.

God surely must be behind you people and the C. S. and Socialism if He is behind any movement on earth today, and I believe we are going to win a glorious victory.—E. P. Bachelder, Siskiyou, Ore.

THE FALL AND THE CALL

Two ways have been presented to our human thought as explaining the manufacture of MAN. One says that he was a monkey and developed into a man. The other says he was a man and developed into a donkey.

There are traits in human character that tend to corroborate both the monkey-origin and the donkey-stage. Man imitates with facility, a monkey way. Man is mulish to unlimited obstinacy, a donkey way.

Humanity is many-sided and much divided. Any one angle gives a perspective about one per cent accurate. Many philosophies are peg-hung on less than an entire angle. Therefore they differ. Angle-born philosophies are centrifugal. Their movement is away from the center.

Philanthropies excel philosophies. They are non angle-born. Philanthropies are centripetal. Their movement recognizes the center and they move toward it. The lover of wisdom may be wise but the love of man makes for manhood.

Theories are interesting to a thinker. But facts are frequently more important. A STOMACH EMPTY AND CONCAVE IS ESPECIALLY PROMINENT TO ITS OWNER AND HIS NECESSITY TRANSCENDS THE THOUGHT OF EITHER ANCESTRY OR DESTINY.

"The scientist tells us where we came from and the theologian tells us where we're going to." "Yes," says the average man, "but they both minimize the important point, that we're here."

WITHOUT A ROOF, AND MINUS THE PRICE, A MAN'S PRIME THOUGHT IS NOT WHERE TO SPEND ETERNITY, BUT WHERE HE'S GOING TO SPEND THE NIGHT.

Hungry baby-eyes remind you more of milk than of either punishment or paradise.

If there was a fall it's ancient history. THERE IS A CALL and that means PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

Steel can be made into the plough, an instrument of toil; into the sword, an instrument of destruction; into a wire which is an instrument of transmission.

Man can be made into a toiler, a destroyer, or a transmitting Saviour. Surrounding conditions do the making.

Frail on the trail of "Life, liberty, and happiness" humanity is winning, has beheld its "heavenly vision," and can conquer. BUT FOOD AND DRINK, CLOTHES AND SHELTER, HOPE AND A LITTLE LEISURE ARE NEEDS THAT COME CLATTERING ON THE HEELS OF LIFE, MARCH ABREAST OF LIBERTY AND AHEAD OF HAPPINESS.

Generation and re-generation have been the big words of Christianity but they have always been used in the individualistic sense. CHRIST TAUGHT SOCIAL SERVICE AS SALVATION.

The judgment he painted was a picture of hunger, sickness, nakedness and need. The charge was non-relief. The punishment was hell. Future? No! THE CONSTANT PRESENT.

Those conditions of need are the items of the human call. That such conditions exist is itself the charge against the human race. THE VERY CONTINUANCE OF SUCH CONDITIONS IS THE HELL OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

The fall of humanity through ONE may be true. But the call of humanity through THE MANY is beyond question.

The call is getting so loud that many ears are listening, every day, that never heard its sound before; and many eyes are opening to view its source, that, yesterday, had never dreamed of human need.

SOCIALISM PRESENTS THE ONLY PROGRAM OF DEFINITE AND ORGANIZED RELIEF AND THE ONLY METHODS ADEQUATE FOR THE OCCASION.

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It is THE CALL OF HUMANITY that asks the subscribers to this paper and the believers in SOCIALISM to contribute a nickel a day for just one month and make the sixteen page weekly edition of **THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST** a regular missionary to a great multitude of people.

As the responses for July were not sufficient, we must continue this appeal during August.

The Christian Socialist, ... August......, 1911.
56 E. Randolph Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

Gentlemen:—

Responding to your appeal for help in the great crisis, I hereby promise to pay to the **CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST**, at Chicago, Ill., on or before September 1st, 1911, the sum of **ONE DOLLAR AND FIFTY-FIVE CENTS** (that being one nickel a day for the month of August), to assist in the maintenance and increase of your work for the Gospel of Socialism.

Address ....Name ....

Don't put down this paper—Get the Scissors and the Pen and GET BUSY.

For Young Crusaders

Conducted by M. Kathryn Spiers, 901 W. Main St., Richmond, Va.

THE BLACK KITTY

"I'd like to play with your kitty," he said,
As he stood with his hands at his back;
"But I don't want to get my dress dirty, you know,
And I'm afraid she'd rub off, 'cause she's black."
—Selected.

FIVE KITTENS

Willie was in the back yard, digging in a deep hole, where he was making a cave to live in, when he heard that faint little "meu, me-u, me-u."

He dropped his spade and ran to the corner of the yard. He got down on his knees and pulled the grass away from the fence; and what do you think he found?

Why, five little kittens! There was a white-and-black one, two striped with gray, and two were Maltese, except their white feet. The Maltese were the prettiest.

Willie put them all in his kilt skirt, and carried them into the house.

"Oh, take them away!" said mamma.

"But, mamma!" said Willie.

"We've got old Tom, and I don't want any more cats; take them back, so their mother can find them," said mamma.

"But, mamma!" said Willie again.

"Go right along and do as I tell you, Willie."

Willie felt that he was going to cry; but he took the kittens back, and put them in the grass. He sat down by them and waited a long time for their mother; a long time, but she did not come.

At last he put them all in his skirt again, and went into the house.

"The mother-cat won't come, and they cry hard," he said.

"Well, you can't help it," said his mother.

"What can I do with them?" said Willie, so sorry for the kittens.

"I guess you had better leave them in the grass; their mother will find them by and by."

"But they are hungry, mamma. Can't I give them a saucer of milk?"

"Yes, go to Bridget," said mamma.

They would not drink a drop; and when Willie put their mouths down into the milk, they got choked and cried harder.

Then he went out and put them back in the grass again, where they cried and cried very pitifully, all five of them.

After a while he brought them all back to his mother in the skirt of his kilt.

"Mamma," he said, "I can't bear to have the little things stay there and cry. May I do something with them?"

"What is it you want to do, Willie?"

"I want to take your pretty little basket, and go around and peddle them to the neighbors.

"Well, you can," said his mother, after a moment; "but you mustn't ask them to pay money for kittens."

"Oh, of course not, mamma."

Willie felt very pleased and important when he set off with his basket of kittens.

He had good success. A sweet old lady next door said she would adopt one; and Little Mary Lane took the black-and-white kitten; Mrs. Bounce said she did not love a cat, but maybe it would catch mice, and so she would take one of the Maltese with white feet. Willie's Aunt Hattie took a striped one, and his grandma liked the other Maltese; so when Willie came home his basket was empty.

He went out to dig in his cave again; but soon he came in and said, "Mamma, I feel awful lonesome! I wish you'd let me keep one of the kittens."

"But you have peddled them all away," said mamma.

"Mrs. Bounce don't love cats," said Willie, "and she'd let me have back the one she has. It's so pretty and I do want a little kitten so bad! Can't I go and get it, mamma?"

"Well, Willie," said his mother at last, half laughing, "I don't know what to do with you; but you must explain it to Mrs. Bounce, and then if she will give up her kitten, you may keep it."

Off Willie ran. Sure enough Mrs. Bounce gave him back the Maltese kitten; and he was so happy he forgot to ever dig in his cave again!—Mary Spalding Hatch, in the Children's Magazine.

Why do you suppose I feel so much like giving you some "kitty" verses and a "kitty" story this week, Young Crusaders? 'Spect it's because I have been enjoying our kitten family so much the last two weeks, for one thing. Our kitty is black, all but her feet which are white, and her name is Slippers. About a fortnight ago I found her settled in the bottom of my wardrobe, with the dearest little family of four plump kittens, all 'most 'zactly like their mamma. I had some trouble in convincing her that a box under my desk would be a better home for her and her babies, but I succeeded at last, and her nest has been the center of attraction ever since. Slippers is the proudest mother! But she seems to suffer from the hot weather, and her appetite is not as good as it should be, with such a family to support. I wonder if some of our youngest Crusaders, when they write me what they did on the Fourth of July—as I hope they all will—would not like to put in a sprig of catnip in their letters, if they have any growing around their back doors? I am sure that Slippers would appreciate such an attention, and I know her mistress would.

Then, I think the story from the Children's Magazine, about Willie and his "find," is such a dear story! Was he not a good, obedient little boy? And aren't you glad his mamma finally let him have a kitten? He deserved it, I'm sure. Somehow I feel that that is a true story. My little girl had a similar experience this spring, finding one very young, gray and white kitten in the street, which I did not wish her to keep, because I thought Slippers was enough for one family. But when I found that she had gone all oyer the neighborhood pleading vainly with the neighbors to take "Fluffy" in and give him a home, I just had to relent and allow her to keep him. He is very much interested in Slippers' family, and plays with her babies in the cutest way.

I think I will tell you about quite another sort of little boy than Willie of the kittens. I never saw this boy, but I heard him, and I know he is quite another sort. One night I had gone to bed early, and was awakened about eleven o'clock by a child's crying in a very loud and angry way, while passing my house—evidently going home with his father and mother, perhaps from a band concert, excursion, or something of the sort. "Give me a penny!" he was shouting. "Give me a penny! now you give me a penny! Make him give me a penny! Give me a penny! now, you got to give me a penny!" All this was poured out as rapidly as possible, mixed in with sobs and screams, and in every tone of threat and authority!

What kind of a boy could he have been, do you think? And oh! poor child! What kind of parents could he have had? It made me feel so badly that I lay awake a long time—for I never heard anything like it in my life, before. I'm sure none of your Young Crusaders ever did, either. I often hear children nowadays say "Shut up!" very rudely to one another—as I never heard them when I was a child. Perhaps you hear that, too—doesn't it sound horribly? I hope all of our Young Crusaders are very careful not to form habits of rudeness, for I can assure them that if they do, they are in great danger of sometime having children that will talk to them as that little "penny" boy did to his papa! The tongue is truly "an unruly evil."

Aunt Kathryn.

BERGER'S SPEECH

(Continued)

Mr. BERGER. Mr. Chairman, I do not know all the decisions of the Supreme Court. I am glad I do not. (Laughter.) However, whether the Supreme Court has so decided or not, the trusts are the natural outcome of industrial evolution, and our laws, our courts, and our Constitution will have to accommodate themselves to industrial conditions.

Mr. JACKSON. What I wanted to ask was this: Would it be anything contrary to the present doctrine of individualism, as we understand it in this country, if the courts and the legislature should regulate the prices of the products of men who violated the laws and used their property to produce a monopoly?

Mr. BERGER. Well, I will say that it would be contrary to the spirit of a regime of true individualism. Any interference by the government with the rights of private property is socialistic in tendency.

Mr. JACKSON. I hope the gentleman is in favor of the government enforcing true individualism.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

TAKE NOTICE

The price of the Christian Socialist is $1 per year. Five subscriptions for $4. Ten yearly subs $7.50. This is the lowest discount we can make on annuals, on account of the cost of producing the paper.

One regular six-months subscription is 50c. Five for $2.

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A special offer of twenty six-months subs for $5 is made with the understanding that these cards are to be used for trial subs by new subscribers. These cards are all marked with an "S," meaning Special, and are not good for renewals. Two of them are not good for a yearly.

SUMMER SUGGESTIONS

By Rev. James L. Smiley

During the hot weather there is a natural feeling that man is justified in reducing all work to a minimum. Provided no principle is compromised, this view is generally accepted.

In the service of God and humanity, we can adopt our activities to the season, in all good conscience. Churches can lessen the number of public services on Sunday and thus allow their members a good portion of the sacred day for communion with their Maker in the sanctuary of Nature. If this liberty does not degenerate into license, the Summer schedule is really uplifting.

Likewise in Socialist work there can be a profitable program suited to Summer. During this season some are thrown more in contact with strangers than at other times. Occasional excursions and vacations afford a peculiar opportunity for propaganda. Individual Socialists can become strong centers of influence and at times can actually do more in a quiet way than a public speech on the street corner (though we do not for a moment disparage a safe and sane soap-box oration.)

Whether gifted with the powers of oratory or not, every Christian Socialist can do this much:

I. Read each number of the Christian Socialist and mark the most striking article with a blue pencil. With this in pocket, seek the first chance to draw a friend or stranger into pleasant conversation, and direct your talk toward the subject of the "Co-operative Commonwealth." Then hand him your marked copy. If interested, he will doubtless read more of the paper. Let us avoid the common mistake of dumping a great pile of reading matter into any one's lap. Bulk usually repels.

II. When you get hold of an unusually good article, order a bundle of this particular number and multiply your good work accordingly.

III. Mail marked copies to correspondents. Perhaps your friends have more leisure in summer to ruminate.

IV. When interest is aroused, suggest a year's subscription for this paper. Socialism is a heroic movement and demands heroic work. The first heroic act may be the outlay of one dollar.

V. Finally, but not least, Socialism is sacred. Let us consecrate ourselves and the Cause by constant prayer. Worldly wisdom alone cannot be entrusted with so righteous, so humane, so universal a cause. We need Christ as our recognized leader. Combining prayer and faithful work our cause will be practically irresistible.

SERIOUS JOKING

That was a good joke played by some of the preachers at the Gospel Mission at St. Louis recently. They caused an advertisement to be inserted in the city papers reading:

"Men Wanted—Fifty at 3150 Easton avenue, at 8 p. m. Come ready for work."

The advertising was answered by eight hundred men out of employment who really came ready for work. When they found they were wanted to attend church and work for the meeting gratis, they became so indignant that, to quote from a newspaper of the city that reported the matter, "it was necessary for policemen to guard the men and women of the Gospel Mission and to warn worshippers to take their children home to prevent them being injured in a riot." One of the mission workers said the advertisement was meant in good part, and they had no idea hundreds would answer it as they did.

It is well for church people to awaken to the tact that the conditions forced on the workers by capitalism are not matters that admit longer of trifling. The people are not irreligious, but when they are out of work and hungry by the thousands, it is time to do something to save the world from the hell on earth rather than what the future may bring. It is criminal to remain in ignorance of the conditions that prevail. It is dangerous to play with those conditions.

Laugh a little longer; shut your ears and eyes; talk of platitudes and future possibilities rather than present necessities, and soon it will require more than policemen and standing armies to hold in check the mob that your carelessness and joking over conditions is preparing.—Appeal to Reason.

WANTS FRUIT FARM

Comrade J. W. Cornelissen, of Kewanee, Ill., would like to locate some where in the Southwest on a small fruit or truck farm, where everything is furnished. He is an active comrade with a [illegible] family, and would like to locate where there are active comrades.

[illegible]
certain [illegible]

The International Sunday School Lessons for 1911

By Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, Pastor Hazelwood M. E. Church, Pittsburg, Pa.

LESSON FOR AUG. 13

Jehoiakim Burns the Prophet's Book. Jer. 36

Golden text. Isaiah 40:8: The word of our God shall stand forever.

Commanded to Write

In chapter 26, which formed the text of our last lesson, we saw Jeremiah condemned as worthy of death by hireling priest and false prophet, but rescued from execution by the timely interference of strong personal friends. Ahikim, the Son of Shaphan, stood by Jeremiah, as John of Gaunt stood by Wycliff, the Protestant Princes by Luther, the Magistrates of Geneva by Calvin, and the Unionists and Socialists by Pettibone, Moyer and Haywood, that they should not put him to death. But though he escaped with his life he did not escape with his former freedom. No doubt he was commanded like Peter and John were, not to speak in public on this wise again. Whether it was by command of court, advice of friends or personal indisposition we know from his own statement in v. 5 that he was "shut up" or restrained from appearing in public to preach his message. He was in voluntary or enforced seclusion.

Man's extremity is God's opportunity. The devil, in due time, always hangs himself with his own rope. When the state forbade Jeremiah to preach by word of mouth God commanded him to preach by the written page. Write, commit thy message to writing, was the Divine command and Jeremiah, glad of the new thought and opportunity of serving the cause, applied himself to the task immediately and with avidity. He dictated his message to Baruch, his private amanuensis, and after about a year's thinking, writing and revision the treatise was completed and ready for public service. The opportune moment, a general public fast, for reading the document soon came. Thus the state, unconsciously and unwillingly, through its opposition to free public speech, led to a new departure in propaganda work and made the influence of Jeremiah's teaching more extensive and permanent. Many times, the curses of men are made to pay tribute to the glory of God and to the furtherance of His cause in the world.

In the 26th chapter Jeremiah, in effect, said, "I am in your power, kill me or do with me as you please, but remember, you cannot dethrone nor over-rule God nor stop the onward march of His cause." In the year of our Lord 1910 Fred D. Warren, when being tried for exposing class legislation and class-rule in our country, told the courts practically the same thing. Said he, "You can jail me but you cannot jail principles." The world may silence the tongue of the prophet but cannot stop the operation of his soul nor the movement of his pen. Paul in a Roman jail, tied fast by chains to Roman soldiers, writes some of his epistles; Athanasius in exile writes his creed; Luther, buried from view and hearing in the Wartburg castle, translates the Bible; John Bunyan, rotting in the Bedford jail, writes his Pilgrim's Progress. The only way to successfully silence a man burning with a Divine message and laboring under the consciousness of a Divine commission to tell it, is to kill him. Even then, like John Brown, his spirit goes sweeping on like a conflagration. Let it be said for the comfort of the prophet and the discomfort of the prophet haters of all time, if Jeremiah and his prophesy are of God; if the cause of Christ be of God; if the Great Labor movement represented by the International Socialist Party is of God, as we firmly believe it is, then I say to you in the words of an ancient lawyer and statesman: "Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men it will be overthrown; but if it is of God ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." Acts 5:38-40. But if ye will continue the ages-long struggle and persecute, condemn and kill the prophets go ahead, but be it known unto you ye do not hereby stop the cause of Democracy, but hasten it; for to every death of a true prophet twenty will arise to take his place. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

Contents of the Roll

Verse 2 of chapter 36 says, "Take thee a roll of a book and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel and against Judah and against all the nations, from the days of Josiah even unto this day." If these words are to be taken literally, as it would seem they must, judging from the number of prophesies to be written, their scope, the time it took Jeremiah and Baruch to write them, the importance of the document and the part it was to play in future events, the roll must have contained the principal part of our present book of Jeremiah. "All the words I have spoken unto thee against Israel, Judah and the nations from the days of Josiah to this day" includes a period of at least twenty years and many sermons Jeremiah had preached on national and international questions. If all this was covered the roll would contain chapters 1-12, some portions of 14-20, 25, and parts of 45-49 of the present book.

If this were the content of the roll the message Jeremiah preached to the nation through the written word was exactly the same as that he preached by word of mouth on that memorable occasion recorded in chapter 26, and which brought upon his head the condemnation of priest, prophet and people. It was an expose of their economic rottenness and their religious hypocricy, and a prophesy that unless they "amended their ways" they would certainly perish. Consult notes on last lesson for the pith of Jeremiah's message. The important thing to note is that Jeremiah, though in voluntary or enforced exile, did not abate an iota in activity nor tone down his message a bit to suit the circumstances. He, like all true prophets of God, was a man of principle not policy. He spoke and worked for tomorrow and the generations to come and not for the present and momentary interests.

Baruch Reads the Roll

We must admire the adroitness with which Jeremiah handled the public reading of his message. He could not read it himself in public, with safety, so he delegated Baruch, his private secretary, to do it for him. They selected a special occasion, possibly a national fast-day when the people would come in large numbers to the temple to worship, to read the roll. Through the personal kindness of Gemariah, brother of Ahikam, Baruch was permitted to use his chamber, in the upper court of the temple, as a pulpit from which to deliver his master's message. Here he was safer from the hatred of priest, prophet and people and, we are to suppose, was unmolested during the reading of the entire roll.

What effect it had upon the worshipping throngs we are not told. Evidently they were more or less indifferent to the message. But there was one, as there nearly always is, who was mightily moved by the truth. Micaiah, grandson of the great Shaphan, when he had heard the message, was so moved by it that he ran unto the king's house to break the news of it unto his father. But, instead of finding his father alone he found the cabinet in session, and to the assembled princes he told of the message he had heard. They were so impressed with the rehearsal by Micaiah that they sent Jehudi, a court officer, to fetch Baruch, with his roll, to them. They had Baruch sit down and read the whole roll for their personal benefit. When they heard the message it moved them mightily with fear; and they thought it of sufficient importance to bring it to the attention of the king. And after learning that Jeremiah was the author of the document and that Baruch had written it at his dictation and advising both to flee for their lives, they went in unto the king and told him all about it. But the king was not satisfied with the rehearsal but sent Jehudi to fetch the roll from the chamber of Elishanea the Scribe and commanded him to read it. The effect the message had on the king and his court was not flattering. As three or four pages of the roll were read the king took them, ripped them in shreds with his pen-knife and threw them in the fire. This was repeated, against the protest of three of the princes, until the whole roll was reduced to ashes. Then the king got mad and ordered Jerahmeel, Seraiah and Shelemiah to institute a man-hunt and take Baruch and Jeremiah, possibly to kill them.

An insulted and mad king, a roll burned to ashes, a man of God hunted like a wild beast, these were the results of reading the same message as Jeremiah had preached in the temple courts a year or two before. Such are always the effects a plain presentation of the truth, whether spoken or written, produces in those who profit by a system of lies. Pharaoh hunted Moses, Ahab hounded Elijah, the scribes and Pharisees killed the Christ, the Roman church tried to burn Luther and the modern representatives of these ancient autocrats try by all available means to stop the mouths of the agitators.

But these effects are not the purpose of the message or messenger. No man, however refined or illiterate, ever delivered a message he believed to be of God with the purpose of creating anger, hatred, bitterness and opposition. It is not the messenger nor the manner in which the message is delivered that hurts but the message. Liars and they who feed on lies never did and never will love the truth and they resent it, not always by denying the truth, but by getting rid of the truth-teller. The purpose of the truth and of the messenger who tells the truth is, as Jeremiah told Baruch, "it may be they will present their supplication before, and will return every one from his evil way; for great is the anger and the wrath that Jehovah hath pronounced against his people." Repentance and salvation are the results sought for by the truth and truth-bearer. But if evil men will not repent and adopt God's way of life at the preaching of the truth it is a grave mistake to think that you can become so tactful, gentle, brilliant, kindly, calm, etc., as to preach and write **The Truth** and not give offense to these people. With all the opposite purpose in their hearts Jeremiah, Jesus, Paul, Luther and Wesley could not. Can you? Try it and find out.

Rewrites the Roll

The king insulted and wild with rage burned the roll. What's the difference! Let the kings of the earth rage and imagine vain things; let them hound the prophets and burn their messages, more will follow. When Jehoiakim burned Jeremiah's roll it only afforded an opportunity for a new enlarged edition brought down to date. "Take thee another roll," commanded the Almighty, "and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim, king of Judah, hath burned." Jeremiah did as he was commanded and added a chapter, a personal message of a most distressing nature, for the king himself. The king gained nothing by the episode, but the truth did.

Isaiah said, in the language of the Golden text, "The word of our God shall stand for ever." Man's exposition and application of that "word" may perish or change with changing conditions, but the "word" will abide. Destroy it you can't. The Bible, which contains that "word" is more widely circulated and perused today than in any previous age of its history. More than 15,000,000 copies of it are issued every year in more than 470 different languages and in hundreds of styles at prices from 25c to $50. The truth in that Book is destined to be understood and applied; and when it is it will make us free.

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error vanquished, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers."